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LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY.

An Historical Account of the Ancient Guldees of Iona, and of their Settlements in Scotland, England and Ireland; by John Jamieson, D.D.F.R.S. and F.A. S.E. £1 11s. 6d.

The New Chronology, or Historian's Companion, corrected to 1811; by Thomas Tegg, 5s. 6d.

The Life of Bonaparte; to be published in Numbers, 1s. each.

History of Spain; by John Bigland, 2 vols. 8vo. £1 4s. boards.

LAW.

Observations on the Criminal Law of England; by Sir Samuel Romilly, 2s. 6d.

The Debates during the Last Session of Parliament, upon the Bills for Abolishing the Punishment of Death, for Stealing to the amount of Forty Shillings, &c. by Basil Montague, esq. 5s.

Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials.

MEDICINE, SURGERY.

A Natural History of the Human Teeth, with a Treatise on their Diseases; by Joseph Murphy, 6s.

Observations on the Diseases of the Rectum, &c. by Thomas Copeland, 5s.

NOVELS, ROMANCES.

Self-control, £1. 1s. in Boards.

Amatonda; a Tale from the German of Auton Wall, 6s.

The Shipwreck; or Memoirs of an Irish Officer and his Family; in 3 vols. by Theodore Edgeworth.

MISCELLANIES.

Extracts from the Diary of a Lover of Literature; by Thomas Green, esq. £1. 1s. boards.

Young Albert, the Roscius. Exhibiting

a Series of Characters from Shakespeare, &c. 8s.

Moral Truths, and Studies of Natural History; by Mrs. Cockle, 7s.

Letters from Mrs. Palmerston to her Daughter, inculcating Morality, 2d edition, 15s.

A Popular Treatise on the Structure, Formation, and Management of Teeth, by John Fuller, Surgeon Dentist, 12mo. 6s. with 6 4to engravings.

A Winter in Paris; or Memoirs of Madame De C****, written by herself. Comprising a view of the present state of society and manners in that capital, 3-vols. 18s.

No. 1. of the British Review, and London Critical Journal, 6s.

POETRY.

Agnes, the Indian Captive; a Poem in four Cantos; by Rev. John Mitford, 7s.

Poems, by Miss Holford, Author of "Wallace, or the Fight of Falkirk." 6s.

Notice.—Now publishing by Subscription, the History and Antiquities of the County of the Town of Carrickfergus, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time; also a Statistical Survey of said County;—accompanied with an Ancient and Modern Plan of the Town, and several other Plates. The work will be comprised in about 200 pages, printed on a nice wove paper, with a new type, price to Subscribers, 5s. in boards, to be paid on delivery of the book. Subscribers names shall be printed. Subscriptions are received by the respective Booksellers in Belfast, and by several Gentlemen of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and other towns of Ireland.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

WE have to congratulate the country on one instance of late, where the freedom of the press, assailed by an "ex officio" information, has sought and found effectual protection in that asylum of the constitution—

the judicature of the people. In legal decisions relative to property, and affairs of civil life, a perpetual recurrence to precedent, becomes necessary, for the purpose of preserving an unity in the law,

an uniformity in decision, by presenting a ready appeal to known, and pre-established rule. The constancy, or as we may term it, the *continuity* of the laws is thus preserved for the general advantage. The security of private rights is more assuredly authenticated, and the integrity, or the wholeness of the laws, is placed beyond the danger of capricious or arbitrary determinations. In all such cases, the judge must impart to the jury the benefits of his experience and erudition. They must be instructed by knowledge which is merely professional, the fruit of laborious research, and a replete memory. The jury, without such assistance, would endanger the salutary consistency of the law, by casual and uncertain decisions, and, in reality, would injure their most valuable rights, by their rashness or ignorance.

But in cases, such as those of libel, a jury is, in truth, the judicature appointed by the constitution, to guard the rights of the people, and a free press, the palladium of that constitution; in the same way that the judges, in their tribunal, are bound to maintain the uniformity and consistency of the law. In such cases, precedent and Profession are not of such importance to the tribunal of the people, in the discharge of *their* constitutional duty. They have not occasion so much to consult the books, as to consider what lies before them, in daily life, looking only to *present* effects, and *prospective* tendencies. Of these they are qualified to judge as well, at least, as those accounted learned in the law, perhaps indeed better, by being less trammelled in professional habits, and having less flexibility to the influence of political power. It is among the worst signs of the times, and one of the most melancholy symptoms of the general apathy,

when the judicature of the people is easily daunted by the dictum of a judge, whose authority gradually accumulates, without a constant vigilance on the part of juries, into professional assumption, and thence into arbitrary determination. A selection from the people, at present, must bear the character, and partake of the qualities of the mass.

Invoking the genius of Alfred, who established juries, crushed corruption, and laid the foundations of the British constitution, we should not hesitate to address juries, in the following terms:

Recollect the nature of your office, the extent of its powers, the boundary of its duties. You are the *LIVING CHARTER* of the public safety. The constitution, which you recollect to our memories, made you the grand barrier between the liberties of the people and the prerogative of the crown. You are to check violence and partiality *wherever* found. You are to be actuated by no interested motives, influenced by no private ends, responsible to God and your country, to arbitrate equally and impartially between the king and the people.

You are chosen from the vicinage, that an acquaintance with the case, and characters concerned, may produce perfect justice from perfect knowledge. Remember that you are, also, in the vicinage, nay the very contact of much passion and prejudice. You are raised and placed apart in the court of justice, to elevate your minds also, above the foul air of party, and to look down from the height of a clear and serene judgment, and with the sympathies of humanity on the case set before you, considering it, under *all* its relations of character, of times, and of circumstances. The office of a jury in periods, when men and the times are out of temper, ought not to

resemble the movement of a blind machine, but they are, as men, to pause, and make those allowances for others, which, in similar situations, they should wish made for themselves.

Ask your consciences, how far the dislike of particular, political principles; how far the desire to put down a party, how far the temper of the times, and how far other collateral and incidental circumstances have tended to distort the judgment, and to make yourselves—a party. Separate, as you value your souls, separate all such circumstances from your consideration. Look not through the aggravating and monster-making medium of political antipathies, for judges as you are of the *present*, the *future* will judge you. Let not the idea of keeping down what you suppose to be a dangerous faction, induce you to proceed from vague, general, and indiscriminate condemnation of certain principles to the condemnation of human beings, made and moulded, like yourselves, without a calm, and impartial scrutiny of the whole character and conduct of the accused. Look not only to the single act and expression, but to the *context* of the man's life, and collect the inward, and invisible intention from a fair, we may say, *historical* comparison of the coincidence or disagreement, with the subject matter of accusation. Ask yourselves if you have not prejudged the case, and if this secret predecision has not proceeded on sentiments of hatred founded on some opinion foreign to the proper merits of the question. You are to give judgment on others,—judge yourselves.

Your power is great—You are really and substantially the judges of the whole cause—of the law as well as of the fact. The more awful your responsibility. The accused

are to have “the judgment of their peers, and to be tried by *the law of the land*.” You are to consider, whether in you, the people will find *their peers*, such as the mercy and justice of the constitution warrant, and if you find reason to suspect that you are not so perfectly the peers of the people you try, in a season of party prejudice and animosity, you ought, on that account, to have a conscientious distrust of yourselves, and to lean towards mercy, as in this instance, partaking of the nature of justice.

You are to judge by “the law of the land,” by which you are to understand, as we conceive, not so much the tenor of this or that law, as the general spirit, the universal effects and tendencies of the criminal jurisprudence of the country, which, rising above the occasional turbulence of the times, and the agitations of the day, is, or ought to be uniform, permanent, and impartial.

You are not to humble the whole law of the land to particular laws of rigorous tendency and spirit.—You arise out of the people, not as accessory's of the executive power, but as the assertors and vindicators of fixed rules, unaffected by the inclinations of this or that administration of government. You are not the agents of a system of coercion, but uninfluenced by person, time, or place, to give the dictum of eternal justice, and to temper the occasional severity of law, by the mild principles of general legislation.

In some such terms, do we think that juries ought to be addressed, in a time like the present, when we see many persons, but *NO PUBLIC*, and when the words of a great man may be well applied to the people of Great Britain. *Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur: ut cum omnes, ea, quæ sunt*

acta, improbent, querantur, doleant *varietas in re nulla sit*, aperte quo loquentur; et jam clare gemant, tamen medicina nulla efferatur, nec videmus, qui finis cedendi, præter exitium, futurus sit. CICERO.

The recent verdict of acquittal pronounced by the jury in the case of the Hunts, for a supposed libel republished in the Examiner, will, we trust, operate salutarily in discouraging attempts to bear hard on the press. Lord Holland's motion on informations *ex officio*, though negatived for the present, will probably contribute to lessen the number of prosecutions. His forcible observations, if they do not produce amendment, at least caused irritation in a certain quarter, and discovered that the correction was felt. If juries persist in maintaining their independence, the liberty of the press may yet be preserved. But to save our freedom, and preserve our rights, the mass of the people have an important part to act. A virtuous few may for a season keep alive the spark of freedom, but no nation will be long free; except they cherish and assert the qualifications of freemen: **THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, THE INDEPENDENCE OF JURIES, AND A REFORMED REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE** are the essential supports of freedom. Without them, the semblance of liberty only is left. To these must be added, a large portion of **PUBLIC SPIRIT**, to animate and inform the mass. Otherwise, they will dwindle into mere forms, without efficacy. Public spirit alone can infuse life and vigour into the whole, and the continued exertions of this vital principle, can only preserve life in the body, for even a change in the manner of choosing representatives, according to the most approved system of parliamentary reform will otherwise be ineffectual. The most beautiful theory will be

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only an illusory dream, "the baseless fabric of a vision," unless **PUBLIC SPIRIT**, cherished by the people at large, confer a reality, and introduce practice. A people regardless of their own interests, and sunk into apathy, can never be rescued from destruction, without their own general exertions. The warning voice of disinterested patriotism will be heard in vain, and if the people at large will not help themselves, their fall cannot be at a great distance.

How differently speculation is viewed, when compared with libel, may be seen by the sentence pronounced on Charles Duffin for defrauding the linen board. He has been sentenced to an imprisonment of only three months. Three years, two years, and 18 months are allotted to punish men accused of libels. Peculators injure the people, and libels affect the government. How different is the scale of punishment.

The clause introduced by the Judge Advocate into the mutiny-bill, allowing court-martials to commute the punishment of soldiers from lashing to imprisonment, will, we trust, lead at no distant period, to the total abolition of the former mode of punishment. The alteration is a tacit condemnation of the former practice, and is, abstractedly considered, a very commendable concession to popular feeling. Yet for some strong remarks on this subject of punishing by flogging, Cobbett is now suffering imprisonment, and the proprietors of the Examiner were lately prosecuted, but the jury pronounced their acquittal. Since their trial, such is the anomaly of the law, the proprietor of the Stamford News has been found guilty of publishing the same paper, for which the others were acquitted. It is fashionable to decry exertions to remove abuses, as acts of faction and sedition. We have now an instance of the good ef-
fi b

fects of free remarks towards the removal of an abuse. Although Wm. Cobbett remains in Newgate, soldiers will be benefited by the attention he has excited to their case. Wretched would be the state of that country, in which the people should become so sunk in apathy, and pusillanimity, that a few generous spirits would not be found nobly daring to speak truths at the risk of personal inconvenience, when the many are so absorbed in selfish views as to disregard the general welfare. To speak plainly, we fear, that with a very few virtuous exceptions, such is nearly the degraded state of these countries. In such a crisis, the friends of freedom should not suffer the victims of power to sink for by a liberal support to the sufferers, they can best aid the freedom of the press. On this principle the subscription for Peter Finnerty was recommended in the last retrospect. We refer to the documents at the close of this article, for the state of the subscription, and if we are to calculate the scale of public spirit, by the present amount of the subscription, we regret to perceive that the graduation of the political barometer is so low.

A strong instance of the good effects of conciliation being exercised towards all classes, is exemplified in the history of Henry IV. of France, justly entitled in some respects to the character of the Great, and his faithful minister the Duke of Sully. How unlike was their conduct, bottomed on the firm principles of conciliation and mild rule, to the narrow and timid views of modern statesmen. Great minds grant nobly; but little minds do not become great by their elevation, and like "pigmies placed on pyramids," they retain their original insignificance. They never abandon the minutiae of office, or rule a nation by gaining their affections. Different indeed would

have been the course of happiness during the last fifty years, if the latter principle had swayed the public counsels. But a narrow, selfish, unenlightened policy prevailed; first producing a pitiful opposition to popular feeling in the case of Wilkes, and in similar transactions of that day; then rousing the Americans to successful resistance, and introducing all the miseries we are now suffering, from an injudicious interference in the affairs of France, and a hatred to liberty. They still go on in this system of exclusion and petty irritation, which lately dictated the letter from the Irish Secretary in relation to the catholic committee. A wise policy would adopt conciliation, and abstain from all improper causes of quarrels, or advancing with affected vigour, and suddenly retracting with the levity of feeble and ill-weighed counsels.

The catholics at a late aggregate meeting in Dublin, have agreed on a warm and affectionate address to the Prince Regent, and appointed a large deputation to present it to him. This measure is clogged with a second address to be presented by the same committee, praying for inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of Richmond, and Secretary Pole, and for their dismissal from office. In the situation in which the Regent retains the present ministry in office, not as confidential servants, but merely as agents, for the king, until the probability of his recovery is ascertained, it is not to be expected that the Prince can act in a manner congenial to his feelings in removing the Irish part of the administration. It does not appear prudent to have offered to him such a dilemma.

We cannot help noticing the intended publication of a News-paper, by the title of "the Dublin Evening Express," which, in the prospectus, it is declared, will be

authentically Catholic, addressed, in an especial manner, to CATHOLIC IRELAND, and foretelling "that the long reserved destinies of good old *Catholic Ireland* will, at last, issue forth in mightiness to save the Empire, and in saving the Empire, to achieve, perhaps the deliverance of the christian world."

Now we feel much inclined to question the propriety or expediency of such a publication, inasmuch as we fear it will co-operate with the errors, the follies, and the crimes of past and present administration, in perpetuating a distinctness; a separating instead of an associating spirit; and a system of exclusion instead of assimilation. If protestant bigotry be desirous to drive down the stakes of a new PALE in Ireland, let not the Catholics be busied on their side, in the very same employment; but rather approve their liberality and wish to anticipate complete emancipation, by mixing as much as possible with their protestant brethren; and not fall back, of themselves, into a sullen and suspicious seclusion. It is only from the time they began to coalesce with their fellow citizens, that they may date their deliverance from mental bondage, the first and great step to that complete emancipation, which we desire from our hearts, and in our prayers to that God whom we mutually adore.

Far from reproaching, we honour them for their attachment to their ancient, though not the most ancient mode of christianity. We do not stop to consider how far their belief in the necessity of one *invariable* religion (the SEMPER EADEM, fascinating, and fallacious words), is consistent with the knowledge of human nature, or practicable in its practice. But abstracting, as we do all religious, consideration, in subjects purely political, we request them to keep as much

as possible their religion to themselves, and they will get still faster forward in their pursuit of a due share of political power. We have the same right, and we think a better privilege to call it *protestant Ireland*, than they have to call it, exclusively, *Catholic Ireland*. Let it be ever, and only known as *IRISHMAN'S* Ireland, and that will be a designation sufficiently descriptive, without throwing over the *whole country*, any encroaching denomination, or subdivision of christianity. We neither wish for *exclusive* catholicism, nor for *exclusive* protestantism, either of which is, no doubt, ready and willing to disguise political domination under the pretext of a necessary religious ascendancy; and we deprecate a certain disposition we cannot help observing, of mixing and confounding politics with religion, a most deceitful and dangerous propensity, which gradually leads to proselytizing, and from thence progressively to persecution.

The following sentence, in the latter part of it, has somewhat of this tendency, and we think might have been omitted, in the prospectus of a periodical *political* publication. "By the religious acceptance of the term Catholic, we mean the defence and support to the very utmost of speech, and life, of the pure and rightful authorities, from whom the religious Catholicism of Ireland emanates, that is to say, the Catholic church in Ireland, the only portion of European Christendom, in which those three illustrious, propositions concur; that to this day, it has neither varied its faith, nor been dislodged from its soil, nor silenced by the fraud or force of tyrants."

In short, we relish every thing that would *include* Irishmen of all persuasions in the constitution, but nothing of an *exclusive*, and *exclud*

ing nature or tendency, not even an exclusive Catholic News-paper, which may dissociate the minds of fellow citizens, by an undue and untimely glorifying of one religious persuasion, and the consequent unjust undervaluing of others, who believe in the same God, and trust in the same redeemer. Instead of a separative system, we wish for a consonance of the protestant and catholic in the cause of *Irish* emancipation, and instead of secluding itself in exclusive publications, the Catholic MIND would be much benefitted by *travel*. By going abroad in our common country, it would learn the value of other modes of faith, without undervaluing its own; and by forming a just estimate of human nature, prepare itself for the modest, and moderate enjoyment of that emancipation which it now pursues with becoming ardour, but the possession of which would prove a vial of divine vengeance poured out upon the nation, if used at any future time, to set up one political or religious dominancy instead of another.

The Catholics have had a long apprenticeship of suffering from the improvident and iniquitous policy of past times, and thus have been severely lessoned into the uses, and abuses of liberty. Of late years they have, however, been much indebted to the liberality of protestant genius and literature, and on many accounts, we think they should not cease, most carefully, and unremittingly to cultivate this liberal turn of mind, particularly in Great Britain, where poison has been so long distilled into the public ear on the Catholic question. It is not for us to point out the different means of accomplishing this end, but we will venture to suggest whether the judicious and well discriminated distribution of MEDALLIONS, with devices and inscriptions elegantly expressive

of CATHOLIC GRATITUDE TO PROTESTANT LIBERALITY, might not be a delicate, way of discharging a debt, not to be repaid by that sort of remuneration, which makes both parties suspected of selfish purposes, but more honourably compensated by an adoption into this new ORDER OF MERIT, instituted by and for the people. A subject of this kind would be well worthy of the consideration of the Catholic committee, or if such things must always be conceived, and brought forth in the midst of eating and drinking, we see no good reason, why, at their next festive meeting, an EMANCIPATION CLUB, should not be formed, bottomed on a broader and more solid basis, than that of the defunct Whig Club, where the Protestant and Catholic should sit alternately, and a Catholic and Protestant chairman be elected in their turn. Whatever may be the fate of this proposal, under the administration of Mr. Pole, we do not hesitate to dissuade the Catholics from resting entirely on *their own* efforts, whether literary or otherwise, in the maturation of their business. If ever this business should become purely, and exclusively Catholic, let them depend upon our prophetic words, *it will fail*. It is truly a Protestant as well as a Catholic concern, and it is their duty to prove it such, by their cordiality, their open and generous confidence, and their unceasing endeavours to conciliate every branch of the protestant community either here, or in Great Britain. We, as protestants see no reason for not subscribing to what once was the Catholic motto.—“*Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria Hibernia, unanimes.*”

A plan of systematic deception has long prevailed in the manner of conducting the periodical press. Hence great caution is necessary in giving credit to the reports circulated in the newspapers. Conducted

as they are at present, they are powerful engines in the hands of government, most of them being either directly or indirectly under undue influence. Some are directly in the pay of the treasury, others more remotely, by being more especially favoured with the insertion of the proclamations of government. Timidity influences others, when they see that every exertion is used by severity of prosecution to terrify those who cannot be bought. When untoward events can be no longer concealed, and they are at length avowed, they are often accompanied by a set off of some fallacious account, vamped up for the purpose of turning off public attention, or raising false hopes in another quarter. Falsehoods are fabricated at some principal workshop in London, or in certain cases imported from the continent, the manufacture of agents kept especially for the purpose at Lisbon, Cadiz, Hamburgh, &c. Hence we have the numerous letters from the armies, the absurd paragraphs in foreign journals, the accounts of the starvation of the French in Portugal, and other tales of equal authenticity. The people are duped, and one lie succeeds another. Provincial papers give a ready currency to these unauthentic rumours, and a race is run by the respective proprietors, who shall succeed best in securing the largest share in the favours of government. One of the latest of those rumours is the frequently repeated story of a rupture between Russia and France.

Perhaps some ministers may be so foolish as to have emissaries at work to stir up another continental coalition. It is not probable they will be able to succeed. Former experience may deter the northern powers from trying another fatal experiment; but if such plans succeed, and Alexander should once more

meet in hostile array the legions of France with the hordes of Russia, there is no good ground to believe that the issue of another coalition would be different from the events of former ones; France would be further aggrandized, and Russia weakened, if not totally prostrated.

But George Canning in a late speech, has given us a clue to unravel these crooked plans; "*The chances of war may do something for us!*"—Alas! thus have statesmen gone on from year to year, trusting to chances, which have in the end almost entirely turned against them. They have been unsuccessful and desperate gamesters, doubling the stake, and still losers. Britain has through bad policy been eminently disappointed in her schemes, but proud under misfortunes and preserving, hauteur in adversity, she still exposes herself to ridicule by the arrogance of her pretensions, and what was badly brooked in the plenitude of her power, is now still less likely to be patiently submitted to by nations, who view her as fallen from her high estate. Whether they are mistaken or not in their suppositions yet remains to be demonstrated by time, but if a wiser system is not speedily adopted, and if reform in all departments is longer neglected, the prospects are not promising.

The negotiations with the United States of America are interrupted, if not broken off by the departure of the American ambassador, who was ordered to return, if certain conditions were not complied with. It is difficult to calculate how America will act, pressed as she is by the schemes and pretensions of the two great belligerent nations. If France without reserve give up her decrees, as far as America is concerned, the scale will probably preponderate in favour of France, against Britain, who refuses to rescind her orders

in council, or give up the claim of enforcing fictitious blockades, or searching neutral vessels for British seamen. The people of the American States unwisely suffer themselves to be divided into parties, one in favour of France, and the other of England, and in their free government, a distraction of counsels is thus produced by the popular voice taking opposite sides. Unlike some older governments, *the rulers appear to be more enlightened than the people*. They act so as to be neither of the French nor English party, but of a party purely American, and with whom American interests have a decided preponderance. They are much perplexed to steer clear of the impositions of the European nations, and to hold up the balance of justice, between the contending parties at home. Theirs is a situation of great difficulty.

Two millions* are this year voted for the support of the Portuguese army. In former years only one million had been granted. In almost

every case, we have to meet increased expences with diminished means.

The war seems now turned from active exertion and fighting, into a contest between the hostile parties, of long suffering and patience, under various privations. Frederic used to say he made more conquests by his soldiers legs, than by their arms. The appeal seems now to be made to the *stomach*, and the trial is, which of the parties can best bear hunger. Indeed the martial war is now become merely a supplement to the commercial war, and if it be practicable for Bonaparte, (of which there is great reason to doubt) to keep the whole European coast, as it were *iron-bound*, against the entrance of all articles of English manufacture, or colonial produce, *for a length of time*, the temporary assistance given by government will not prove essentially serviceable, in the event, to the commercial interests. It will only alleviate their distress for a time without reaching the source of the evil.

Indeed the great difference between our plans, and those of the enemy are, that his appear to be systematic, and have a constant relation to a *long future*, while those of our ministry are fortuitous, and desultory, depending on the chapter of accidents, upon a successful intrigue in foreign courts, upon "*existing circumstances*," and measures of the day, against a deep laid scheme of diverting the customary channels of commerce into a new direction, which certainly will require time to take effect, but on that very account, may become the more perduring. It really appears that the *war*, as now carried on, is made a mere stalking horse, a masque for the more effectual prosecution of the plan for establishing European, upon the ruin of British

* These two millions at the present price of bullion, it is said will cost an addition of £600,000 before they can be remitted to the continent. The agents of government are now purchasing rather on lower terms, by buying guineas on the Change of Belfast, but this supply cannot last long. The shock of the finances is advancing by hasty strides. The bank-tokens in England are raised from 5s. to 5s. 6d. The monied men show no disposition to fund the whole amount of the exchequer-bills, as the chancellor proposed. Thus the loan already enormously great, and which must be made on very disadvantageous terms, is likely to be further increased, while the bank of England now exceeds their issues at this period of last year by an addition of notes amounting to £2,000,000, although they have abridged their discounts to merchants. The discount on omnium, on the last loan, has increased to 7 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is a bad omen for the success of borrowing, under such circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must raise money on very disadvantageous terms.

trade; and that the military part of the business is to use their language, only a "demonstration." It is like a false attack upon the Bastion, while measures are taken to cut off the River, that gives a supply of water to the garrison, and inhabitants of the place. The war upon the peninsula is, whatever Lord Wellington may think, a mere pluff of powder, when compared to that internecine and international war of which we are speaking. Such paragraphs as the following appear to us more formidable than a park of artillery. "The produce of a duty on cotton wool imported, goes to a fund for the payment of additional bounties on the culture of cotton, indigo, and sugar within the French territory."

Whatever the ephemeron minister may say, with all the emphasis of office, on the firmly established character of commercial Britain, history, or large experience proclaims, that commerce is a mutable and inconstant ground of national prosperity. History with her telescope, speculates through whole centuries. A microscopical minister magnifies the present moment into something prodigious, nor can extend beyond it, his sphere of vision. Foreign commerce, that depends on foreign consumption, must hang on the will, or, in other words, rest upon the mercy of the *consumers*. Internal trade accumulates a stock of labour; in peace, happiness; in war, defence. Commerce, without a due circulation of benefits throughout the mass of the people, produces such partial accumulations of wealth, as begets an overweening pride, and self-sufficiency; an impotent and vain-glorious desire of great undertakings, the stimulation of an intoxicated brain, and a corrupted heart; and then, when the top-heaviness begins to totter, an astonishment arises, how

the centre of national stability could ever have been placed on a line that falls so far without the base.

One of the rules of the Indian Vedam is to distinguish between what is lasting, and what is perishable. Surely to a retrospective eye, history has shown awful lessons, even in modern times, of the precariousness, and unsettled nature of external trade, its fickle fortunes, its shifting splendors in the fate of the Italian states, of Geneva, and Florence, and Venice queen of the Adriatic; of the Hans towns, of Antwerp, and recently of Holland. To the prospective eye of the sagacious politician, who does not bound his selfish calculations by the measurement of the lives at present in being, all the nations in the globe will appear in the same light, as a number of individuals in the same town, a few of which will for a single generation, outstrip the rest in activity, extent of trade, and productive returns, while perhaps one banking Behemoth appears to them all, the biggest born of earthly traders; yet pass but a few, short, fleeting years, the old merchants give place to new competitors, and monopoly, instead of being heaped up as a compost, is spread out as a manure, diffusing the means of happiness, while it scatters fertility.

Where a genuine public spirit inspires a country, no misfortune can bring on despondency. Where a commercial spirit is the vital spring and solely agitates and interests the whole mass of people; we naturally turn to the experience of history which exalts and enlarges the intellectual horizon, for instances of the *migratory* disposition of commerce, and the precariousness, and insecurity of its showy, but unsubstantial independence.

A very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster have voted an address to the Regent,

which, and the resolutions of the meeting are placed among the documents. The address from the pen of Major Cartwright, is an energetic representation of the situation of the country, occasioned by the want of Reform, and the overwhelming influence of the system of Borough Mongers, invading both the regal and the democratic parts of the constitution.

THE writer of the remarks in some late retrospects, on the subject of the *Regium Donum*, has read the two letters by A. Z. and Simplex, published in this number, without any conviction being produced on his mind, that his former assertions were erroneous. He is friendly to the principles of dissent of the Presbyterian church, and sincerely wishes that this body may maintain its independence, but he is hostile to a connexion, in any shape or degree, between church and state. For obvious reasons, he declines to accept of A. Z.'s invitation to name instances of individual tergiversation among presbyterian ministers. The law of libel is often resorted to in the present day, and truth is adjudged to be a libel: besides, he would consider that he acted unjustifiably, if in making observations on a general subject, he converted his remarks into personal satire. A. Z. admits that to be entitled to receive the *Regium Donum*, loyalty should be a condition. It is well known what idea governments attach to this word. By loyalty they mean obsequiousness to their measures. The writer of the remarks is willing to let the matter at issue, go at once to the verdict of the country, without further remarks on his part, except to mention, that the hint of the thirteen or fourteen thousand pounds distributed among presbyterian ministers not adding essentially to the

burdens of the public, reminds him of a story he met with, many years ago. A number of boys broke into an orchard, and carried off the fruit of a cherry-tree. One little boy on being caught, pleaded that he might as well, take a few as another, for all would have been carried off. Thus it fares with the public. The higher placemen like the bigger boys, carry off the greater part, the less strong take what they can snatch, but the people who are the rightful owners, lose all the cherries.

DOCUMENTS.

COMMERCIAL CREDIT.

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Commercial Credit, laid before the House of Commons, 6th March, 1811.

The Select Committee appointed to enquire into the state of commercial credit, and who were directed to report the same as it should appear to them, together with their observations thereon from time to time, to the house, met, and examined a variety of witnesses; and have agreed upon the following report:—Your committee directed its attention to three points;—*First*—The extent of the difficulties and embarrassments which are at present experienced by the trading part of the community:—*Second*—The causes to which the same should be ascribed;—and,—*Third*—The expediency, with a view to the present and future interests of the merchants and manufacturers, and of the public, of any assistance being afforded by parliament.—Your committee found, that memorials had been presented to his Majesty's treasury, towards the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present year, stating the great embarrassments and distress which were felt amongst the manufacturers in the cotton trade in Glasgow and Paisley, and their vicinity, and praying for public assistance; that the same were confirmed by the representation of a meeting held in the city of London, on the 12th of February, which sent a deputation to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a copy of the resolutions adopted at that meeting. These resolutions your committee have inserted in the appendix to this report.—Your committee found, by the evidence of the